

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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## Do Your Duty.

The Social Democratic party of Milwaukee has a platform and a ticket of which that party may well be proud.

Now do your duty, Social Democrats, and union men of Milwaukee.

We know from actual contact with the working class that a large per cent. have never conceived the real cause of our wrongs than the barbarous natives of Central Africa. But through their general discontent and disappointments from false promises of politicians they are not only susceptible of being convinced of the real cause, but are thirsting after the truth.

Now, do your duty!

The most efficient method of educating the masses is simply to agitate everywhere, on the way to work, on the way from work, at noon time, in the shop, and evenings and Sundays, and whenever there is a chance to speak to your neighbor or fellow worker. This oral instruction must be supplemented by literature if it is to be of any lasting value, and therefore every Social Democrat and union man should be well equipped with pamphlets and tracts explaining the meaning and the mission of Socialism.

Do your duty!

Half a dozen men in each precinct, who are imbued with the glorious object of making this world better for future generations, might start a crusade that would fire the lazing men of this city with an enthusiasm even greater than that of the religious zealots of past centuries. A comparatively few men, enthusiastic and well organized, can do incomparably more than a horde of people indifferent and disorganized.

Therefore, do your duty!

History tells us that the self-sacrificing efforts of a handful of Jesuits saved the Catholic church from annihilation in the sixteenth century. They kept back the tidal wave of the Protestant reformation. As their motto was, "To God's greatest glory," ours must be, "To the greatest welfare of man." We will make this world a proper place to put to practice the morals of Moses, Christ, Buddha and Confucius, while after all the long efforts of the clergy this is now a world only fit to prepare men for hell.

Do your duty!

Do not think the occasion to be too insignificant because this is only a municipal election. Nothing is insignificant in a great war. It was a series of small and in themselves insignificant skirmishes that led to the great battle of Sedan and decided the fate of an empire. Milwaukee Socialists form a vanguard in this great battle for the cooperative commonwealth.

Do your duty!

Good times? We should "snicker." Not long since Ben Soup Atkinson announced that the mortgage of the West was held by the hired girl and factory hands of New England—there seem to be some mortgages left in spite of the good times. And now a statesman in New York proves by "statistics" that nearly all the money in the savings banks is owned by the laboring people. We expect to hear next that the diamonds of the country are fast going into the hands of the same hired girl, poor clerks and laborers. Meanwhile we know by actual experience that the working people of this country are a great deal worse off now than they were in 1897, for the wages have gone up about 10-15 per cent. and the means of livelihood about 40 per cent.

Why should church property not be taxed? What is the theory that puts it on the free list? Are saints classed as raw material, or is their production so limited in this country as to make it an object to invite competition?

One of Milwaukee's "charitable" organizations is collecting the scraps around the hotels and restaurants and selling them out to the destitute. Great world this and "unprecedented prosperity!"

Justice breeds free men as charity breeds paupers.

It is an insult to Americans to say they need protection against the laboring people of other countries. Make the natural resources of this wonderful country free to all on equal terms, and no wonder here need be poor. Allowing some to deny to others the opportunity to produce, makes tramps and millionaires.

The Republicans of this city are in deep trouble.

The conference between the leaders of "halfwits" (stale wars) and "half-brains" (calf breeds) in this city came to naught. The object of the conference was to settle upon a city ticket that would be supported by all. This was not done. There are not enough of those involved in this campaign to supply the patriots and the reformers. Both parties lay claim to everything in sight and the Republicans will either have two tickets in the field this year, or one ticket that will be killed by the opposing faction. The voting cattle of either faction simply have to obey the commands of the

leaders who fight for pelf for themselves, either as "patriots" or as "reformers." Great is Pfister, and great is La Follette, but the greatest wonder of all is the masses (them asses) who fight their battles.

B. H. Hibbard of the University of Wisconsin spoke on "Socialism and Christianity" at the Hanover Street Congregational church last evening, saying that the attempt of the Socialists to trace their philosophy back to Plato and Christ must fail, as it was a new system.—Milwaukee Journal.

No scientific Socialist ever tried to trace back Socialism to Plato and Christ. Plato's ideal republic was an aristocratic Utopia and based upon slavery. History knows nothing of Christ's personality, outside of what the New Testament, which is a theological book, tells us. He merely does not design a new economic system there. Christ's immediate followers lived in a state of crude communism, not Socialism.

Modern Socialism was made possible and necessary by the introduction of modern machinery on a large scale.

The grand jury in Milwaukee which was to investigate the corruption in official circles has reported that it did not find any. No one who knows the condition of affairs in this city expected a different report. The grand jury forms a part of the sea of corruption that is encircling Milwaukee. The members of the grand jury are selected by the county supervisors—that is, by the very people who expect to be investigated along with the other corrupt officials. And the grand jury invariably contains a sufficient number of contractors, politicians and thieves to make an indictment impossible. Any thorough investigation would have to start with investigating the members of the grand jury. When the grand jury was called we predicted the result—we are not disappointed. But some day it will happen that a jury of this kind will be "hung," and not figuratively, either.

So long as the working classes need an extraordinary candidate, popularized by an extraordinary event, to rouse them to do what the rich classes will do as a matter of course for an ordinary candidate without any rousing at all, so long will successful political organization of the working classes be impossible and the proletariat be hopelessly outvoted by the organization of the rich.

## Not a Christian Nation.

It is continually maintained by the church that the people of the United States are a "Christian" nation. In the cold light of statistics, however, this claim cannot be established.

Dr. H. R. Carroll, who prepared the official religious census of 1890 and since then has followed from year to year the progress of the churches according to their own statements, declares that their total membership in the year 1901 amounted to 28,070,637 persons. Since at the present time the total population of the country is about 77,000,000, it follows that the former number is not more than one-third of the latter. Of course church membership now is not identical with Christianity, and there are perhaps many Christians who do not belong to any church. However, we can have no proof of this, and we must keep to what is tangible. This is evident, that the church members by no means form the majority of the population, and therefore have no right to claim the authority.

Dr. Carroll finds that the membership of the churches has increased a little in comparison with the increase in population. Considering, however, that the church has a standing army of hundreds of thousands of paid agitators, and that in this country it is a matter of respectability to be a church member, such a result is not very astonishing. Moreover, it must be stated that this agitation is in good part fed by revivals and traveling speakers of great renown and affected oratory. For instance, last year the Methodists of the North set in action a great systematic crusade of conversion, and their agitators claim that 600,000 members were added to the church. It appears, however, at the close of the year that the membership of their churches has only increased about 16,500. So it would seem that some of the older converts must have "fallen from grace."

Among the different churches, the Roman Catholic is the strongest with 9,158,741 members and a growth of about three millions in one decade. The Methodist Episcopal church comes next, with 7,262,291 members. Then there are only five other sects with more than one million members. The enormous splitting up of Protestantism is seen in the fact that there are not less than twenty-four kinds of Lutherans and thirteen of Presbyterians. The comparatively largest increase, significantly enough, belongs to the Mormons and to the Christian Scientists.

Taken all in all, although the church, by means of its strong and effective organization, maintains its position in point of numbers, still it is NOT a conquering power, and there is no ground for the claim that this is a "Christian" nation, since even the nominal Christians form only one-third of it.

## Municipal Platform of the Social Democratic Party.

The Social Democratic party is the American expression of the international movement of modern wage workers for better food, better houses, sufficient sleep, more leisure, more education, and more culture. Those who toil with hands and brain are the producers of all wealth, but as laws are now made in the interest of property rather than of men, the rights of the toilers, although they are in the great majority, are ignored.

Under present conditions and under whatever form of government the wage-earner without means and without employment, no matter how much he may have produced previously by his toil, is always dependent upon the man with means for opportunity to work for a livelihood.

We hold that by the natural development of society this nation has outgrown the old system of government and must throw it off before our national ideal of a government of the people, for the people and by the people, can be actually secured. Political liberty alone has become inadequate; we must have both political and economic liberty. To secure this is the aim of the Social Democratic party.

In city affairs, we stand for the public ownership of municipal utilities. We are well aware, however, that Milwaukee does not enjoy self-government, and that, as a rule, no steps can be taken in that direction without an appeal to the state Legislature at Madison.

### HYPOCRISY OF OTHER PARTIES.

All high-sounding clamor by other parties in a municipal election is, therefore, simply a dishonest bid for votes, for these parties represent the classes that cannot consistently oppose so-called property rights of any kind. These rights are more sacred to them than the rights of men.

In municipal affairs the Social Democratic party stands also for every radical change that will bring means of production into the hands of the people. It believes in self-government for the city, in just and equitable taxation, in the consolidation of city and county administration, and in the public control of the food supply in the interests of the public health and in the highest development of a reasonable public service. At the proper time it will demand these and other things.

We call attention to the fact that the measures we urge are in no way a cure for existing evils, nor are they necessarily socialist institutions. They are to be viewed, rather, as needed palliatives, capable of being carried out even under present conditions. Under no circumstances should the working people rest content with municipal improvements which are merely temporary in their nature and must be entirely inadequate. They should move onward to the conquest of all public powers, to an entire change of the present system for one which shall secure to the people, collectively, the means of production and distribution.

### MAINSRING OF CORRUPTION.

The mainspring of corruption in municipal affairs is found in the fact that a few aldermen or officials have in their power to give away or sell franchises to capitalists, who thereby make millions. The temptation thus afforded our public officials, to try to secure a share in the millions thus given away, is too great for the average man to withstand. If the city would operate its public utilities, the motive and the opportunity for bribery would be removed. The present system of municipal government, with its corrupting influence of the capitalist system, which makes money-getting the sole object of life. The Social Democratic party, therefore, objects to more competition in public utilities; more competition means more corruption.

We look upon the contract system as a similar danger. It constantly induces contractors to bribe city officials on the one hand and to exploit their workmen on the other. Furthermore, it is always in the interests of the city that citizens earn decent wages; therefore, instead of the contractors, the labor unions ought to be encouraged. The city should stand pledged to employ only union labor, at eight hours a day, and should require the same of all contractors doing city work.

### RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYED.

The money made out of the city by contractors might better go toward the relief of the unemployed; first, by the improvement of the streets; second, by the establishment of public coal and wood yards and a public icehouse. In this climate ice is necessary in summer as coal is in winter. These necessities should be sold at cost. The city could easily harvest an abundance of ice during the winter months, thereby employing many citizens, who would otherwise have to receive public aid. For it must not be forgotten that in the midst of "unprecedented Prosperity," in the richest land of the globe and in so beautiful a city as Milwaukee, 1700 families receive public aid this winter. We realize, that giving work to the unemployed can solve no industrial problem, but it is the least that can be done as a humane duty toward those in distress.

Free education is essential to a high civilization. Free books are as much a part of free education as free teachers and free schoolhouses. The Social Democratic party demands, that books and school utensils be furnished free to all pupils attending the public schools.

### THE QUESTION OF TAXES.

This naturally leads us to the question of taxes. The report of Tax Commissioner Brown shows that over \$30,000,000 of the property of corporations are not taxed in this city. If these corporations bore their share of taxes figured even at the present valuation—the taxes of all citizens could be reduced 20 per cent. and there would still be over a million and a quarter more every year in the city treasury which could be used for public improvements of all kinds.

### FOR THE PUBLIC WEAL.

Public health also requires more public baths and a system of public street closets such as is found in European cities. Public health also demands an extension of the free medical service. At the present time, many a disease, and even epidemics, get their origin from the fact that poor people shrink from consulting a physician because of the expense, until it is too late.

While we realize that pauperism and prostitution are the legitimate outgrowth of the present system, which submerges the lower stratum of the proletariat, it is well known that certain wealthy citizens derive profit from degradation through the rent of old rookeries, which are a menace both to public morals and the public health. We demand that all slum property be condemned and the ground cleared by the public authorities, and that, where advisable, the spaces so cleared be devoted to open air gymnasia or for park purposes.

The city ought to take the place of the law to such of its citizens as are unable to afford to defend themselves, by employing (or appointing) a sufficient number of public attorneys, who should conduct just cases of the poor free of cost to them. At present the poor know of the law only when they feel its crushing effect. A poor person with a just cause has no standing in the courts unless some lawyer is promised a big share of the proceeds of the case; if there are no proceeds the poor person has no means of defense at all.

### DEMANDS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In the light of the above facts we make the following demands:

1. That no more franchises for public utilities shall be sold, leased or given away. The city shall take charge as soon as possible of all public utilities now in private hands. The city shall abolish the contract system as far as possible in all public work. Only organized labor shall be employed by the city and that at an eight-hour day. Wherever contract work is unavoidable, the contractors shall be required to employ only organized labor.

2. That the common council shall take the necessary steps to make the big corporations pay their rightful share of municipal taxes.

3. That an earnest effort shall be made by the city to provide work for its unemployed citizens. Besides the improvement of the streets, the city shall maintain a public coal and wood yard and a public icehouse. The coal, wood and ice to be sold to the citizens at cost.

4. That the city shall employ a number of attorneys to conduct just cases for the poor. That the city shall reorganize the system of administering justice in its police court, so that the poor man may be guaranteed the same chance before the law as is enjoyed by the rich.

5. The extension of the free medical service so as to provide two salaried physicians in each ward, who shall treat those applying free of charge. The city also to arrange with druggists who shall compound the prescriptions coming from said city physicians for a certain average compensation which shall be fixed by the board of health and paid for by the city. The city also to provide and maintain a public crematory, which shall be free to those applying.

6. That the city shall erect at least three more public baths for the benefit of the residents of the working districts, one to be built in Bay View, one on the north side and one on the northwest side. The city also to provide a system of street closets, such as found in modern European cities. Plumbing and sewerage in all dwellings to be done by the city at cost, the same to be paid for in yearly installments.

7. That the city shall condemn all slum habitations dangerous to the health of the occupants, and cause their removal in the interests of public morality. The maintenance by the city of public playgrounds, open-air gymnasia, or parks in their places, where possible.

8. That free school books and adequate school facilities shall be provided. Principals shall be required to devote one-half of their school time to instruction. The large hall in each school building shall be available to residents of the district for public meetings of whatever nature, at such a charge only as shall pay the cost of lighting.

9. That the city shall arrange at least one symphony concert each month during the winter in the largest and most suitable hall to be secured. The admittance fee to such concerts shall be moderate, and should a deficit occur, it shall be paid by the city. In summer concerts to be given in the parks.

10. That the city shall declare a half holiday, on all election days, which shall be compulsory and a penalty shall be exacted from all employers of wage labor who shall ignore the order.

The tombing of over a hundred men in a mine in Mexico is another horrible instance of capitalist greed and criminal negligence. But why should we expect the owners of the earth to go to the expense of repairing their death traps when property is dearer than humanity?

The man who builds the finest house does not live in it. The man who makes the finest coat does not wear it. The man who raises the finest ox does not get the best steak. The man who works most gets the least. Did you ever think of that?

A dispatch from St. Louis says:

In a most scathing charge to the February grand jury just empaneled, which he ordered to continue the investigation begun by the previous body into the charges of bribery in connection with St. Louis suburban railway legislation, Judge O'Neil Ryan on the criminal bench of the St. Louis circuit court today, declared that crime was a menace to civic and political life. "It is anarchy," Judge Ryan said, "for it strikes an insidious and deadly blow at government." He reviewed the work of the old grand jury, which returned indictments against the aldermen, and continued:

"It is your duty to continue, promptly and vigorously, this investigation, both as to past offenses of this kind, which are not barred by limitation, and as to present offending, if any there be, of a similar nature. Have a care that none who are innocent shall be branded, but have equal care that none escape being brought to the bar of justice who are, in your best judgment, on the evidence presented, guilty."

The grand juries in St. Louis, Mo., are evidently not selected by the officials who are to be investigated.

Our county officials sold the site and building of the old morgue to the Electric Light and Street Railway company for \$30,000. The real estate in question is in the heart of the city of Milwaukee and has dock facilities besides. Then the fathers of the county went to work and bought two lots on Market street—a side street, and paid \$40,000 for it. But when the wife of the man who sold the lots to the county was congratulated upon the fortunate sale and told that she ought to ride in a carriage in the future she said innocently, "Why we only got \$15,000 of that." Well that would be a great deal more than the lots were worth, and the woman corrected herself when she came to realize what a "break" she had made. Yet it is easy to understand why it is a fortunate thing for the supervisors that they select the men who are to serve on the grand jury.

Before a problem can be solved it must at least be stated. Socialism deals with the problem of wealth production and distribution. It states what the problem is. You know that the problem exists. By reading on on Socialism you will come to understand it. To assist you to do this The Herald is published, and you can learn much by reading it for a year.

## State Socialism and Social Democracy.

The economic activity of the modern state is the natural starting point of every study which leads to the Socialist commonwealth. This is by no means the same as saying that every nationalization of an economic function or an economic industry is a step towards the Socialist commonwealth, and that this can follow a general nationalization of all economic industries without any change in the nature of the government.

This view—the view of the so-called State Socialists—rests on a misconception of the state. Like every form of government, the modern state is a tool for the accomplishment of the common interests of the ruling classes. It does not change its character at all when it takes on itself functions useful to the public, which are advantageous not only to the ruling classes, but even to society at large. It often undertakes these functions merely because their neglect would endanger the interests of the ruling class along with the rest of society. But in no case does it administer these functions in a way that antagonizes the interests of the upper classes or threatens their power.

If the present state nationalizes certain industries and functions, it does this not to lessen the profit of the capitalist, but to protect and strengthen the capitalist system of production, or else—to get for itself a share of the profit, and so increase its revenue and lessen the taxes which the capitalist class must pay for its support. And as an exploiter, the state has even better facilities than the private capitalists, because against the exploited it can bring to bear not only the economic powers of the capitalist, but also the political power of the executive government.

Up to this time the state has carried nationalization no further than suited the interests of the ruling classes, and so will it act in future. So long as the propertyed classes are also the ruling classes, the nationalization of industries will never go so far that private property in capital and land will be injured or limited in its power and its opportunities for profit.

Only when the working class becomes the ruling power in the state will it cease to be a capitalist concern; only then will it be possible to make it a Socialist commonwealth on a Democratic basis.

From the knowledge of these facts comes the hard task which the Social Democracy has set for itself; it intends that the working classes shall conquer political power and annihilate capitalism, but it also intends to change the state into a great self-sustaining co-operative commonwealth, with safeguards against any kind of oppression, even such as might emanate from a bureaucracy or a new kind of hierarchy.

## "DEMOCRATIC" POLITICS IN MILWAUKEE.

For the purpose of enlightening our readers with most important and world-wide issues are agitating the Democratic party of Milwaukee at present, we reprint the following article from a "reform paper":

"While the conference committee was at work in an endeavor to select a candidate for the Republican ticket a bitter war among the factions of the Democratic party came to a head. The reason of the war is the attitude which Mayor Rose has taken in regard to the minor places on the ticket.

"It is claimed the mayor has taken the position that he will not run on the ticket if Carl Runge is renominated for city attorney. It is conceded that if the mayor adheres to this position it will amount to the defeat of Mr. Runge. But in his defeat, the mayor will face a new complication. The only candidate in the field against Mr. Runge is Lawrence A. O'Neil. He comes from the west side. Barney Cooke, who is a candidate for city treasurer, comes from the same section. A meeting of Mr. Cooke's friends was held Sunday afternoon. It was attended by about seventy of the leading Irish Democrats of the city. This meeting appointed a committee to call upon Mayor Rose and demand of him that he support Mr. Cooke for the treasurership. This committee is not going to take 'No' for an answer and will not be satisfied with any assertions of the mayor to the effect that he is not mixing in the political contests.

"The mayor has already declared that Mr. Runge must be shelved. If he accedes to the wishes of this committee it would mean that it would be difficult for him to accomplish his purpose of defeating Mr. Runge with Mr. O'Neil as the candidate. The question of location would come into play and he would find it hard no matter what control he will have over the convention to deliver the goods upon the proposition.

"Again, it is urged that if the mayor should accede to the demands of this committee, he would offend the Poles unless Peter Pawinski or Joseph Banasczynski was given the nomination for comptroller. Whichever way he turns, the attempt at dictation of the mayor is bound to bring him trouble. His professions to the effect that he is not taking any hand in the contests for the minor positions is laughed at by the Democratic workers who know how the Rose regime works the game of politics.

"The concerted move which is being made in the interest of Barney Cooke also has revealed that there is a bitter fight between the Polish factions in the party. Stories of all kinds are being circulated by one faction against the other. The contest has become so bitter that elections upon the ability of the candidates to get the board required in case of nomination and election are being freely circulated. Frank Niezornski is said to be supporting the candidacy of Peter Pawinski, and he insists that Peter will be the nominee, although he says he is not taking any hand in the fight. The more bitter the fight between these two factions, the better is the opportunity of some man who is not in any way tangled up with them, and Mr. Cooke's friends are watching this contest with a great amount of satisfaction.

"The friends of Mr. O'Neil are not idle, by any means. They are quietly at work and have succeeded in securing for him pledges of support from many of the influential leaders of the party. These, coupled with the known political enmity of the mayor to Carl Runge, are counted upon as strong factors in securing delegates for Mr. O'Neil.

This is a sample of old party politics in Milwaukee as we find it explained in the papers for months before every election.

Workingmen, citizens and voters of Milwaukee, compare with this miserable scramble for public spoils the platform, the convention and the candidates of the Social Democratic party.

Compare with the absolute lack of any principle in the old parties the fact that the Social Democratic party stands out for a new world where poverty will be unknown and crime only an occasional occurrence of misfortune. And in the fight for this new world which extends over all civilized countries a municipal election forms only a small, insignificant and local encounter between capitalism and socialism. And consider also that corruption and office-hunting will diminish in the same degree as socialism gets the upper hand of capitalism—and then, oh voters of Milwaukee, make your selection of the ticket you want to vote.

Do the Socialists have the RIGHT to put their ideas into practice? We have been asked. Our answer is the Socialists have that right as soon as they can secure the lawmaking and the law-enforcing power. The capitalist class which rules us at present is using its power wholly for its own selfish interests to the great detriment of nine-tenths of the people.

Now there are two ways of overthrowing the class in power.

One is the method provided by the revolutionary fathers, who having experienced the hardships of a forcible revolution, gave us the ballot box as a means for peacefully reversing the policy and changing the laws of government.

The other method is the one pursued by the revolutionary fathers themselves. Common sense tells us to try the first and be prepared for the other.

Yet either method is perfectly legitimate. For the Declaration of Independence enunciates that "governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." The constitution declares "that the right of the citizens to bear arms shall not be abrogated."



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MILWAUKEE, SATURDAY, FEB. 8, 1902.

## HERALDRIES.

"It is none of the public's business  
what I think of William McKinley,"  
said Marcus Aurelius Hannan. But it  
was very much the public's business,  
or the public thought it was, only a few  
months ago.

Industrial and social harmony can  
only be attained by recognizing the so-  
cial nature of production and insuring  
equitable distribution of the results of  
social exertion. There is no solution  
of the labor question save on that line.

It is estimated that not less than 60-  
000 signatures to the referendum peti-  
tion for municipal ownership in Chicago  
were stolen by agents of the corpora-  
tions, of course, since only the corpora-  
tions and their political henchmen are in-  
terested in defeating the will of the peo-  
ple.

Socialism is reciprocal in its very na-  
ture. It contends that it is the duty of  
society to aid and protect the individual,  
by securing to each the just reward for  
his service, also that it is the duty of  
the individual to aid in upholding and  
protecting society from those who would  
encroach upon individual rights.

The basis of the capitalist system of  
industry and of the robbery of the work-  
ers that occurs under it, is the appropri-  
ation by the capitalist class of labor that  
is never paid for. These surplus  
values, which the workers produce, it is  
that constitutes that vast capital in the  
hands of the possessing class to exploit  
the world and all who labor to live.

Wealth seeks the protection of the  
people, organized in governments, and  
with the sanction of government,  
through legal rights, robs its protectors.  
Under present conditions nearly every  
law created by the representatives of the  
people, is a means in the hands of the  
predatory rich to subvert the people's  
liberties and enslave those from whom  
power is originally supposed to be  
derived.

It is not easy to understand why  
Roosevelt should hesitate to comply  
with his daughter's wish to attend the  
coronation of Ed Bacarat, since it is  
well known that the sympathies of the  
gang in control of the Republican party  
and administration are entirely with  
that sort of thing. The President  
should not hesitate because the idea  
probably originated with Mr. and Mrs.  
Whitely Reid.

Frederick W. Upham, a member of  
the board of review of Chicago, makes  
this statement: "If I were under oath,  
I could not say that I had kept my of-  
ficial oath as a member of the board of  
review to list property at its full tax  
valuation. I could not net to the letter  
of the law without, in my opinion, doing  
irreparable damage to the property in-  
terests of Chicago." All of which goes  
to prove one thing clearly, and that is  
that Mr. Upham's oath is no good.  
Though occupying a high public position,  
he belongs to those who are not to be  
believed under oath.

J. P. Morgan, for organizing the steel  
trust, was given a fee of \$300,000. The  
following figures are taken from the  
trust's report for the first nine months:  
Surplus assets ..... \$1,037,443,231  
Profits first year (estimated) ..... 110,000,000  
Paid to Andrew Carnegie for his properties ..... 483,206,000  
Paid to J. P. Morgan for organizing great combine (in stock) ..... 129,997,500  
Present market value to Morgan ..... 90,000,000  
In round figures Morgan made during past year:  
Each month ..... 8,000,000  
Each day ..... 275,000  
Each hour ..... 11,500  
Each minute ..... 200

And the other day Morgan said he had  
"absolute confidence in the future."  
Who wouldn't have with \$200 a minute  
in the present?

All virtue is not found among those  
who revel on the social millions, nor all  
vice among the poor who go through the  
dark valley of undeserved and enforced  
poverty. The vices and crimes of the  
rich are proportioned to their opportuni-  
ties to indulge them, and so we are told  
that at the present time in some sections  
of the country bank robberies and em-  
bezzlements are epidemic.

The poor have little opportunity to  
commit really grievous crimes against  
the laws of the land, because most laws  
are made in the interest of property and

the poor have no property, neither do  
they manage property belonging to oth-  
ers. This is done by the well-to-do and  
wealthy. Their management usually re-  
sults in the property belonging to them-  
selves.

David S. Rose, mayor of Milwaukee,  
is reported to be grieving nowadays be-  
cause the Chicago American in no mis-  
takable terms has called down his  
dear friend, Carter Harrison, mayor of  
Chicago. That paper charges distinctly  
that Harrison has receded from his po-  
sition on the traction question and is  
now willing to yield and compromise  
with the corporations. It says: "There  
is current apprehension that the virus  
of COMPROMISE, which in this case  
is synonymous with YIELDING, has  
weakened the position of the chief execu-  
tive, who has hitherto stood in public  
estimation as the chief bulwark of de-  
fense between the grasping traction  
companies and the people." While the  
American affects great surprise at this  
turn of affairs, it cannot be said that  
anyone else is, not even Mayor Rose.

Sign a contract to use coal during the  
entire year or go without coal all the  
year.

That is the proposition which the Chi-  
cago coal dealers are to submit to the  
real estate dealers and others who con-  
trol the large skyscrapers in the down-  
town business district.

To insure the success of the scheme,  
the coal teamsters, who, strange to say,  
proposed the plan to the coal dealers,  
took official action and refused positively  
to haul coal for any dealer in any build-  
ing in the city where gas is used for  
fuel during the days of moderate weath-  
er.

Secretary Milton Booth of the Coal  
Teamsters' union is directing the fight  
from the headquarters at 187 Washing-  
ton street.

"We have over 2000 coal teamsters in  
our union," he said, "and every team  
owner in the city employs union team-  
sters who are affiliated with us, so that  
there is no way for the skyscrapers to  
get coal delivered to them, even if they  
purchase it out of Chicago and have it  
shipped to this city by the railroad."

A sad case of destitution and starva-  
tion came to light a few days ago in this  
city, when Henry Prie, 62 years of age,  
was removed from a shed at 298 Sixth  
street to the Emergency hospital.

Although his frame is so emaciated that  
he has barely any flesh on his bones, Dr.  
McCarthy thinks he will recover. His  
case is that of an old man being crowd-  
ed out of his position by younger men  
and he finally was forced to seek shelter  
in a shed, where he has been subsisting  
for months on 20 or 30 cents a week. His  
pride kept him from asking aid from peo-  
ple who would have been glad to have  
assisted him.

Prie is unmarried and has resided in  
Milwaukee for many years. He is a  
cabinetmaker and has worked in several  
of the large shops in the city. When,  
on May 18, 1900, he found that old age  
prevented him from getting work in fac-  
tories, he rented the shed in the rear of  
298 Sixth street and did odd jobs of car-  
penter work. As cold weather ap-  
proached he was unable to earn enough  
to pay for necessary food and he suffered  
almost from lack of fuel and clothing.

John A. Showalter of Showalter  
Broas, grocers, who lives at 298 Sixth  
street, had told his aged tenant that he  
need pay no rent, and if he needed pro-  
visions to call at the store. But Prie  
did not ask for aid and no one thought  
of him until one day last week. Mr.  
Showalter went to the shed and found  
the man in a starving condition. He  
called in a physician at once and Prie  
was removed to the hospital. It was  
learned that he had earned only 65 cents  
since December 1. He has no relatives  
in this country. As he lay on his bed  
at the hospital the old man's eyes filled  
with tears as he spoke of his age count-  
ing against him, although he was still  
able, he said, to work.

The most sensational bribery case in  
the history of municipal politics was un-  
earthed last week, when the grand jury  
returned indictments against twenty  
members of the last house of delegates  
and city council.

Before announcing the indictments the  
grand jurors descended upon the safe de-  
posit vaults of 10 big trust companies,  
and there discovered \$140,000 in cash,  
which was placed there by representa-  
tives of a street car company to be paid  
to certain city aldermen after the pas-  
sage of franchise bills.

J. K. Murrell, ex-speaker of the house  
of delegates, and S. E. A. Meyersburg  
and Charles Kratz, former members  
of the city council, were arrested on the  
indictment. Murrell and Kratz and  
Meyersburg were at once taken before  
Judge Wood and their bail fixed at \$5000  
each, which was furnished.

Circuit Attorney Joseph Folk brought  
out the indictments. He learned that  
\$75,000 had been placed in a box at the  
Lincoln Trust company by a representa-  
tive of the St. Louis & Suburban Street  
railway over a year ago, and that the  
money was to be divided among nine-  
teen members of the house of delegates  
who had formed a combine.

The combine was to be distributed as  
soon as a franchise bill was passed giv-  
ing the suburban road the right to run  
through Forest Park, where the World's  
fair will be located.

Circuit Attorney Folk also discovered  
that \$35,000 had been placed in a box  
of the Mississippi Valley Trust company  
for certain councilmen under the same  
conditions.

Philip Stock, a millionaire brewer and  
secretary of the St. Louis Brewing as-  
sociation, held a key to each box. Mur-  
rell, it is said, held the duplicate key to  
the \$75,000 house of delegates' hoodin  
box and Kratz was given the key to the  
\$35,000 council box.

Wilshire's Magazine and The Herald  
one year for One Dollar.

## Our Local Candidates.

The candidates nominated by the So-  
cial Democratic convention of last Fri-  
day are very well-known in the socialist  
and labor union circles of Milwaukee.

Howard Tuttle, the candidate for  
mayor, is a painter of theater decorations,  
a celebrated artist, a member of the  
Theatrical Workers' union, a prominent  
delegate in the Federated Trades coun-  
cil and is well-known as an ardent So-  
cialist in this city and throughout the  
state. Howard Tuttle never lets slip  
the least opportunity to make converts  
to our ideas. He is a ready speaker and  
well liked by all who know him.

Eugene H. Rooney is a member of the  
Pattern Makers' union and for years  
has always come to the front whenever  
it was necessary to battle for trade  
unionism or for Socialism. He is the  
secretary of the central committee of the  
Social Democratic party in Milwaukee,  
and the cause of Socialism has very few  
more enthusiastic advocates or cham-  
pions in this city than young Eugene H.  
Rooney. He is the "Hotspur" of the  
Milwaukee Social Democracy. Rooney  
is the candidate for city comptroller.

It would be throwing words away to  
give our Milwaukee readers a long ac-  
count of John Doerflinger, whom the con-  
vention compelled to accept the nomina-  
tion for the office of city treasurer. John  
Doerflinger is one of the oldest and most  
unselfish Socialists in the city—a man  
who in spite of his very positive views  
and his somewhat warm temperament  
has very many friends and very few  
enemies. For many years he has been  
one of the most active supporters of the  
progressive labor movement here, and  
perhaps no man in this city in his cir-  
cumstances has done more for the So-  
cial Democratic party than John Doerflinger,  
the radical inn-keeper at the famous  
"sharp corner."

Of Dr. Theodore Burmeister, the nom-  
inee for city attorney, we can say little  
more than that he is an unassuming  
young man and a zealous Socialist. He  
is one of the few lawyers in our party  
and the chief reason for his choice at  
this time was for once to spare Richard  
Elsner, who hitherto has always figured  
on our ticket as candidate for all jur-  
idical offices. We have no doubt, how-  
ever, that Dr. Theodore Burmeister will  
soon win his spurs in the Socialist move-  
ment.

Of such material is our ticket in Mil-  
waukee composed. Every Socialist and  
every member of a union can point to  
it with pride and satisfaction. In case  
they are elected, these comrades will  
ring to their oars not only the Socialist  
spirit and an upright purpose, but also  
the ability to put our ideas into practice.  
Every progressive citizen in Milwaukee  
should agitate for this ticket.

## The Social Democrats.

The Social Democratic party, which es-  
sentially is representative of labor and  
its political aspirations, has placed a  
municipal ticket in the field and given to  
the public its reasons for existence.

Howard Tuttle, a scenic artist, was  
chosen to head the ticket. Mr. Tuttle is  
a clean man and has the ability to take  
the aggressive in support of his party's  
platform. He is a plain man and is in  
no sense a show figure, but as between  
the plainness and rugged character of  
such a man as Mr. Tuttle and the fine  
feathers and shifting makeup of a  
Dave Rose, the public could better af-  
firm its preference for the plain man  
and dispense with the services of a  
prize beauty.

Briefly summarized, the platform de-  
clares for municipal ownership of all pub-  
lic utilities, equal taxation, free medical  
attendance for the poor, public attorneys  
to defend the interests of poor litigants,  
public baths, free school-  
books and better school facilities, public  
concerts, and compulsory half-holiday on  
election days. There is one significant  
feature in the platform, in that it holds  
out no false hope to the masses of the  
people. "We call attention," the plat-  
form declares, "to the fact that the mea-  
sures we urge are in no way a cure for  
existing evils, nor are they necessarily  
Socialistic institutions. They are viewed  
rather as needed palliatives, capable of  
being carried out under existing condi-  
tions. Under no circumstances should the  
people rest content with municipal  
improvements, which are merely tempo-  
rary in their nature, and must be entire-  
ly inadequate."

The same frankness is shown in the  
municipal ownership plank. "We stand  
for the public ownership of municipal  
utilities. We are well aware, however,  
that Milwaukee does not enjoy self-gov-  
ernment, and that, as a rule, no steps can  
be taken in that direction without an  
appeal to the state legislature at Mad-  
ison at best most unsatisfactory. It  
should be read in its entirety to appre-  
ciate its full significance and the intent  
of its promulgators."

The Social Democratic party from now  
on promises to become a formidable fac-  
tor in the municipal politics of Mil-  
waukee. The conviction that is coming to  
labor that the strike as a means of bet-  
tering its condition has served its purpose  
and that through the instrumentality of  
the ballot its hope for realizing its aspira-  
tions lies, has given an impetus to  
Socialism in this city that has not in  
touch with the workers of our great cit-  
ies. The Social Democratic party offers  
a vehicle for the political expression of  
this Socialistic sentiment, and while it  
has in view the ultimate realization of  
the co-operative commonwealth or Socialistic  
state, it is evolutionary in its methods,  
as is indicated by the platform with  
which it appeals to the voters of Mil-  
waukee for the support of its candidates. Its  
ticket in one that is representative and  
there is no doubt that the vote cast for  
it will be a surprise to many.—Mil-  
waukee Daily News.

## The Future Man.

At the Ethical building last Sunday  
afternoon, Dr. Folkman gave the sec-  
ond of his series of lectures upon the  
future man.

Dr. Folkman is giving rather a novel  
course of forecasts, the purpose of  
which is neither to entertain nor to in-  
struct, but to lay a foundation for a  
new system of ethics. He makes the eth-  
ical end the assistance of the evolution-  
ary progress, the preparation of the way  
for the coming superhuman race. He be-  
lieves that the superhuman being is to  
evolve from the man of today, and is  
superior to us as we are to our pre-  
decessors of half a million years ago.  
This superhuman race will not differ  
from the present man so much in phys-  
ical characters as in his moral senti-  
ments, his intellect and his soul. He will  
have a much larger brain, a more  
numerous and more completely modu-  
lated nerve fibers, a greater chest and lung  
development, smaller digestive organs

and less muscular development. He is  
to be a being of rational conduct, an in-  
tellectual rather than a manual laborer.  
His ethics will in many ways be di-  
ametrically opposed to ours.

The next lecture will be given next  
Sunday at the Ethical building at 4:30  
p. m., and will treat of the family life of  
the future, that is, of the marriage cus-  
toms and other institutions which fur-  
ther the production of the superhuman.

## ON THE RELATION OF MAN TO NATURE.

By Winn Teller.

Mankind, in its childhood, was what  
man, the individual, is as a child.  
The child's relation to its environment  
is more passive than active. We term  
that the child's helplessness.

The condition of the first of mankind  
is as described by historians as having  
been like to that of the child.

The child lives upon the bounties of  
the world. It cannot take, it must de-  
pend upon what is given it. Mankind, or  
man, also lived upon the bounties of the  
world as afforded in what the historian  
has called Paradise.

Wherever then man lived upon earth  
in that condition of childish innocence,  
there he was in Paradise.

The child's passive condition is due to  
its helplessness and also to its implicit  
confidence in the correctness of things.  
The passive condition of man was due  
to exactly the same cause.

The infant has no conception of moral  
rectitude nor of moral depravity. Man,  
the historian says, knew not the differ-  
ence between good and evil.

The child has the power of doing both  
and it cannot escape doing either one or  
the other if it do anything at all.

Man also had within him the possibility  
of doing both good and evil.

The first time the child gets an idea of  
evil is when it is punished and knows it  
to be punishment. It has overstepped a  
law, however, and knows it to be wrong.  
The punishment is an attempt to again re-  
store equilibrium.

The first idea man got of evil, he got  
when he suffered pain as a result of a  
transgression of natural law. His pun-  
ishment was the attempt to again re-  
store the previous equilibrium.

From that time on man became a new  
being. He became a reasoning being.  
He was to become a reasonable being.  
We are all reasoning, but few of us are  
reasonable. Note the difference. We are  
all to become reasonable.

As the suffering, man said, or thought,  
The answer also led to come from him.  
It was—Because! No matter what that  
because was. As soon as man once said  
"Because" he became a reasoning being.

Before that time things were things, but  
not so far as he was concerned. He nei-  
ther knew, nor cared to know, either the  
why or the wherefore.

Why should he be happy, and that was  
a sufficient excuse or reason for his  
being.

Are not we contented when we are  
happy? Do we bother ourselves to ask  
why?

Not so, however, when we suffer. Then  
we at once demand a reason for it. Then  
we do trouble ourselves to get at the  
cause of our suffering, so that we may, if  
possible, remove the cause and rid our-  
selves of pain. Thus it is that man be-  
comes a reasoning being. Thus it is that  
he learns to draw a distinction between  
good and bad.

Man on his first reasoning venture  
draws a conclusion, and he does so con-  
tinually, this earth would still be a  
paradise.

But such a thing was impossible. One  
thing man had learned, i. e., to draw con-  
clusions, to reason. And having once  
done it, it became a spontaneous activity  
with him.

To reason, however, is one thing, and  
to reason correctly is quite another  
thing. Every correct conclusion must be  
logically drawn from correct prem-  
ises.

But what did man know of the cor-  
rectness or incorrectness of his premises  
so long as he had not proven their cor-  
rectness by experience?

He, however, did not even see the ne-  
cessity of that, and therefore boldly as-  
sumed to know what he did not know.

He drew his conclusions not from facts,  
but from his imagination. His premises  
were false and his conclusions equally false.

But, although he had but few correct  
premises to begin with, still he was  
obliged to make the most he could of  
these few, in order to gain more.

In the end, he must risk reason-  
ing falsely for sake of not learning how  
to reason correctly. Thus he learned to  
know what we call truth. And such  
conclusions as he has been able to verify  
in experience to infinity he has called  
laws. He calls them universal laws,  
because they are correct throughout the  
universe and applicable in all circum-  
stances.

He also calls these laws, or the great  
law in its diversity of aspects and  
manifestations, The Divine Intelligence,  
The Spirit of Creation, The Creator, or  
God.

Having, after a time, become con-  
vinced of the unreliability of conclusions  
drawn from false premises, and uncer-  
tain, he reasoned that the only safe  
method was to confine himself strictly to  
such premises as either were already  
proven beyond the chance of a doubt, or  
such as he might himself prove.

Such premises he called scientific facts,  
and his conclusions drawn therefrom we  
call, in their totality, scientific principles.

It is science which has at last brought  
man out of the darkness of infinite chaos  
into the light of infinite order.

Science has shown man the limits of  
the universe.

Science has shown man the eternal fit-  
ness of all things.

Science has finally brought man upon  
the straight road back to that same con-  
dition of happiness, of harmony with the  
Divine Intelligence, which he left when  
he for the first time trespassed nature's  
law.

Science has shown man how to reach  
Paradise here on earth.

Infant mankind, while in Paradise,  
were obedient to the law, though ignorant  
of it.

Adult mankind, when in Paradise, will  
be obedient to the law because they see  
the necessity and understand the nature  
of it.

Our stumbling is coming to an end.  
Man not only knows good and evil, he  
knows the nature of good and evil.

He knows that things in themselves  
are neither good nor evil, or if anything,  
then good, because that is the only reason  
we can give for creation.

In the light of the preceding, since we  
cannot help but make application of truth  
to the conditions around us, we must  
without reserve condemn much that we  
see.

We must condemn every institution  
which hinders man in the rightful exer-  
cise of his God-given faculties.

We must condemn every institution  
which robs man of the rightful enjoy-  
ment of his God-given privileges.

We must condemn every institution  
which obscures to man the brightness of  
truth.

On the other hand, we must give our  
support without reserve to such institu-  
tions which have as their aim the erad-  
ication of error and falsehood, and the  
establishment of man in his rightful  
estate as joint and equal beneficiary in  
the bounties of nature.

## The Glass Struggle.

The Kansas Supreme court has sus-  
tained the eight-hour law.

The fishermen's strike at Ponsacola,  
which has been on for several weeks,  
has been amicably adjusted.

Minnesota labor commissioner has is-  
sued a report showing that child labor  
is on the increase in that state.

The Boston & Montana smelters and  
mines at Butte, Mont., have resumed  
operations, employing about 3000 men.

Great strikes are progressing in Spain,  
and a feature of them seems to be that  
the women are the most active partici-  
pants.

Organized labor of Chicago will at-  
tack the validity of the special jury pro-  
viding for the Cook county jury com-  
mission.

Folders at the works of the Glouces-  
ter (N. J.) Manufacturing company  
went out on a strike on January 16 for  
more wages.

The lockout of custom clothing work-  
ers in Chicago is said to be a beginning  
to smash all unions of garment workers  
in that city.

In Porsheim, Germany, the Socialists  
won a member of the Legislature at a  
special election and came near winning  
another in Karlsruhe.

The Texas State Federation held a  
convention, urged the Democratic state  
government to pass more labor laws, and  
seceded from the A. F. of L.

About 150 employees of the Buckeye  
Engine company's erecting department  
at Salem, O., struck on January 11 for  
time and a half for night work.

Gov. Voorhies of New Jersey in his  
annual message on January 14 recom-  
mended that action be taken looking to  
the election of United States senators  
by popular vote.

The Sattley Plow company of Spring-  
field, Ill., has sued forty-two of its strik-  
er employees for \$50,000 damages for at-  
tempting to interfere with its business.

Trade unionists at Chicago have de-  
cided to take uniform action against the  
building of warships and navy machin-  
ery in any but government shops.

James H. Foxman of the Chicago  
Federation of Labor charges Gov.  
Yates of Illinois with betraying the  
working people on the convict labor pro-  
position.

Texas laborites are scared. The Bour-  
bons in that state are attempting to dis-  
franchise many of them by forcing a  
bill through the Legislature to require  
all voters to pay a poll tax.

The Washington labor congress, at  
Tacoma, on January 17, referred to in  
a referendum vote the questions of form-  
ing a state federation and of affiliating  
with the American Federation of Labor.

Representative Clark of Missouri on  
January 23 introduced a joint resolution  
in the House of Representatives  
expressing sympathy for the Boers and  
of regret over the suffering caused by the  
war.

A district miners' convention in  
Wilkesbarre, Pa., on January 15, im-  
posed, as a penalty for strikes unau-  
thorized by the executive committee of  
the district, suspension for three months  
of the local union declaring such strike.

Miss Inspector Edward Brennan's  
annual report shows that there were sixty  
fatal and ninety-eight non-fatal acci-  
dents in the Seventh Pennsylvania dis-  
trict last year, one life being sacrificed  
for every 123,802 tons of coal mined.

## OUR WEEKLY LETTER FROM BOSTON TOWN.

Massachusetts Legislature Takes Action on  
Change of Party Name in that State—  
New Bills Introduced.

[Special Correspondence.]

The most interesting event of the  
week in legislative matters, so far as  
the Socialists are concerned, was the  
passage of the bill authorizing the  
change of the name of the Democratic  
Social party to Socialist party. The bill  
passed to be enacted through the House  
on Friday, will go through the same  
process in the Senate on Monday and  
should be signed by the governor on  
Wednesday at the latest.

There will be much rejoicing among  
the Socialists of Massachusetts at sec-  
uring the legal change of name. There  
has been a great deal of confusion in  
the past from the fact that the party  
and to go on the ballot under the term  
Democratic Social; and there is no doubt  
that the Socialist Labor party through  
this confusion received votes intended  
for our party. There has been some sur-  
prise at the failure of any representative  
of the Socialist Labor party to appear  
oppose the passage of the bill, for  
there was plenty of opportunity offered  
for them to present opposition. The  
Socialist representatives are pleased at  
their success in securing the change of  
name much more easily than they ex-  
pected.

## THE TEAMSTERS' STRIKE.

The chief interest attaching to the  
teamsters' strike which I reported last  
week is centered on the hearing on the  
injunction which has been proceeding  
in the Superior court all the week. The  
hearing has lasted much longer than was  
expected; and it is supposed that it has  
been dragged along mainly for the pur-  
pose of allowing the Brine Transporta-  
tion company to gain advantage under  
the temporary injunction and retain po-  
lice protection, which has been unneces-  
sary, if not from the beginning, then for  
the past nine days. The police have  
been escorting the Brine teams on every  
trip each day, although perfect quiet ob-  
tains and not even a crowd has gathered  
anywhere to jeer the nonunionists at work.

## NEW BILLS INTRODUCED.

Yesterday was the last day for intro-  
ducing bills. During the week Mac-  
Cartney introduced two bills, one pro-  
viding for state ownership and operation  
of street railways, with the referendum  
attached. Another bill requires that  
the voters of a city or town shall decide  
the location of street railways to be built  
within their respective localities.

On Thursday Carey introduced a bill  
which has almost direct bearing on the  
teamsters' strike. It requires that pick-  
eting and patrolling during strikes be  
made legal.

Two other bills introduced on Friday  
are also of much interest to work-  
men. One is a repetition of a bill in-  
troduced in former legislatures, and pro-  
vides for the right of trial by jury to  
the workmen answering the charge of  
contempt of court in proceedings under  
injunction. This will probably be de-



# NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF SOCIALIST PARTY.

## Three Days' Session Held at St. Louis—Report of the National Secretary.

Assembly called in prior 22 of the Lincoln Hotel, at 10 a. m., Friday, January 12, 1902. The committee was called to order by Mr. Ballard Dunn, secretary.

Max Hayes was elected temporary chairman, and M. Ballard Dunn, secretary. Credentials committee elected, consisting of Job Harriman, Walter Thomas, and George E. Boomer. Committee on rules elected, consisting of Victor L. Berger, James F. Carey and E. J. Patauni.

Work (Iowa) moved that in order to save time all matters pertaining to constitution from Utah be brought immediately before committee as a whole. Chairman moved motion out of order. Morning session adjourned to meet at 1 p. m.

### FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

Afternoon session called to order at 1:30 p. m. by Chairman Max Hayes. Secretary read report of the credentials committee, as follows: Your committee on credentials find the following entitled to sit as members of the national committee: James F. Carey, Massachusetts; Job Harriman, New York; Max Hayes, Ohio; John M. Work, Iowa; Walter Thomas, Kansas; George E. Boomer, Washington; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; George H. Turner, Missouri; E. Berlyn, Illinois; James Patauni, Indiana; James S. Roche, California; Charles Ufert, New Jersey; George E. Bigelow, New York; E. J. Patauni, Indiana; A. H. Hoeft and M. Ballard Dunn. Credentials of Bigelow of Nebraska at place of National Committee. Mr. McCarthy, who is ill. Thirteen states represented by seventeen votes. Upon motion of Carey the motion was accepted. All committee members accepted. Mr. Carey moved that Bigelow be seated as a member from Nebraska, upon condition that he get regular credentials from state committee. He offered an amendment that Bigelow be given voice, but no vote.

Secretary offered that Bigelow be not seated. Lost. Amendment offered by Carey carried. Committee on rules reported as follows:

### ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Call to order by secretary of committee.
2. Election of chairman.
3. Roll call.
4. Reading minutes.
5. Communications and bills.
6. Reports of standing committees.
7. Unpublished business.
8. New business.
9. Adjournment.

Sessions of the committee shall be held daily from 10 a. m. to 12 m. and 2 p. m. to 5 p. m. Evening sessions to be held on Tuesdays and Thursdays. A quorum to be determined by a majority vote. A chairman to be elected daily, the secretary of the local quorum to act as secretary. No member shall speak more than ten minutes or more than twice on any question, without the consent of the body.

All sub-committees shall meet while the national committee is in session without the consent of said national committee. All sub-committees to consist of three members unless otherwise ordered. The secretary of the national committee to be given the right to call on the members except the right to vote. We recommend the appointment of the following standing committees:

1. Committee on secretary's report.
2. Committee on local quorum.
3. Committee on finance.
4. Auditing committee.
5. Agitation and organization.

We further recommend the selection of a committee of three to serve as a nominating committee whose duty shall be to suggest to the full committee, the names of members to serve upon the standing committees.

Report of committee on rules was accepted, read, and finally adopted. Credentials committee then reported as follows on the Utah contest.

### THE UTAH CONTEST.

Your committee on credential after considering the Utah controversy to a great extent and after hearing the parties on both sides, make the following recommendations:

1. That the charter issued to the state of Utah be hereby revoked and that a member of the national committee be sent to Utah with power to reorganize all locals and call a state convention, said convention to be made up of delegates from organized and unorganized locals on a basis of representation of one delegate to every five members in good standing, no delegate to represent other than the local of which he is a member.
2. That both Utah comrades, Mrs. L. C. Haddett and A. B. Elder, be expelled the courtesy of a seat and voice in the committee but no vote. Moved that the report as offered be adopted as the sense of the committee. Upon request the question was divided. The first section carried with a recommendation for admitting to a referendum of the party membership. The second section of report carried.

Upon motion temporary organization was made permanent for the day. Berlyn, Harriman and Carey elected as auditing committee. Motion of Carey adopted, that when we adjourn we adjourn to 7 p. m. Recess was then taken for thirty minutes. Committee reconvened at 4 p. m. Nominating committee reported as follows: Secretary's report, Max Hayes and Bigelow; Local Quorum, Carey, Turner and Berlyn; Finance, Ufert, Berlyn and Mrs. Haddett; agitation and organization, Harriman, Berger and Mills. National Secretary Greenbaum then read his report, after which the committee adjourned.

### FRIDAY EVENING SESSION.

Called to order at 7 p. m. Committee on national secretary's report submitted their report, which was as follows:

"In regard to the equipment of national office we appreciate the generous aid of those mentioned by the national secretary and suggest that the national committee vote its thanks for courtesies extended. That part of secretary's report under the subhead 'Agitation,' on pages 6, 7, 8, 9, we respectfully suggest be referred to committee on agitation and organization. We recommend that that part of secretary's report under subhead 'Financial,' pages 10, 11, 12 and 13, be referred to committee on finance. We recommend that that part of secretary's report from pages 14 to 18 inclusive be referred to committee on agitation and organization, and that that part of secretary's report, pages 19 to 23 inclusive, be referred to committee on local quorum." Foregoing report adopted. Upon motion the national secretary was instructed to send the following telegram: Berlyn, Boomer, Carey, Turner, Ufert, Harriman, Berger and Mills, National Secretary, Greenbaum, St. Louis, Mo., January 12, 1902. B. Wilson, National Secretary, United Mine Workers of America, Columbia Hill, Indianapolis, Ind.—The na-

tional committee of the Socialist party of America, in session in St. Louis, send you greetings and appreciate your efforts in waging the battle for industrial emancipation by organizing against capitalism and the trust power. We hope that the 200,000 mine workers of the country will rapidly come to see the necessity of combining with their political power the same day that they are compelled to fight with the strike and boycott.

LEON GREENBAUM,  
National Secretary Socialist Party.

### SATURDAY MORNING SESSION.

Committee called to order at 11:30 a. m. Roll call. And Loche, members adding committee, executed by motion. Reading of minutes. Same as proved, after correction by Carey. Communication dated January 16 from Local Troy, New York, requesting referendum on amendment to national constitution, as follows: "Resolved, that the national committee shall have power to arrange itinerant lecture tours with each local as may desire." The request of Local Troy, New York, was endorsed by Local Gendin Springs, Kas.; Sedalia, Mo.; Berlyn, Mo., and St. Louis, Mo. Upon motion the local was instructed to put said amendment in form of referendum of the party membership as required by the constitution. Greenbaum recommended that national secretary should be placed under board. Recommendation adopted and referred to local committee. Charles Dobbs of Kentucky presented credentials as alternate national committee member in place of E. E. Seeds, who was unable to attend. Upon motion, E. E. Seeds was seated as national committee member and Charles Dobbs as alternate. It being the noon hour, chairman then declared meeting adjourned.

### SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

Committee assembled at 2 p. m. Order of reports changed by motion and report read from committee on local quorum, as follows:

1. We recommend:
2. That the local quorum shall submit to each of the members of the national committee a weekly statement of the business pending or transacted.
3. Not more than three weeks shall be allowed from the date of sending for replies to referendums submitted to the national committee.
4. No state charter shall be granted until after the expiration of thirty days from date of application. If during said period objections are filed, a statement of the facts involved shall be submitted to the members of the national committee for action.
5. All applications for state charters shall be accompanied by a copy of the state constitution and platform.
6. Upon the organization of four or more locals in any unorganized state or territory the local quorum shall call a state convention (if agreeable to said locals) for the purpose of perfecting a state organization, and shall notify said locals to nominate temporary chairman and time and place for holding said convention. The temporary chairman shall be furnished with a list of the respective locals and of the members in good standing in same, as given by the records of the national secretary.
7. The dues for the current month shall accompany all applications for state charters. Report of committee on local quorum was considered, read, and adopted according to the foregoing, after change had been made in the communications read from People's Fund and Welfare Association inviting the committee to assign speakers to deliver addresses at the association's headquarters on Sunday evening at 7:30 o'clock.

On motion communication was received and referred to the consideration of the individual members of the committee. The committee on agitation and organization reported as follows:

1. That a list of speakers for interstate lectures be selected by the national committee and supplied to the states on application; and where such arrangements cannot be made, then with the locals that may desire.
2. That the local quorum be instructed to raise funds by popular subscription for the purpose of prosecuting general agitation and organization.
3. That the secretary of the national committee prepare a uniform system of stationery for party use, together with blanks upon which local workers may make weekly reports to their locals; and the local may make monthly reports to the state committee; and the state committee to the national committee.
4. That the national committee prepare a uniform system of stationery for party use, together with blanks upon which local workers may make weekly reports to their locals; and the local may make monthly reports to the state committee; and the state committee to the national committee.
5. That the national committee shall furnish uniform stamps. It shall also furnish uniform due cards, application blanks, etc., the same to be sold at not more than 10 cent above cost.
6. The national secretary shall prepare a constitution and bylaws (supplementary to the national constitution) for the use of locals in unorganized states, the same subject to amendment by local committee.
7. Report of committee considered, read, and adopted. Amendment provided for traveling card. Amendment rejected. Report of committee on agitation and organization adopted. The noon hour having arrived, motion made to adjourn. Lost. Committee on national secretary's report made report as follows:

"We fully endorse the action of the national secretary and local quorum in communicating the fraternal greetings of our party to the various conventions of labor. We deem this policy a necessary one, not only because of misunderstanding in the past, which are at last being cleared up, but also for the reason that the Socialist party is the political expression of the awakened workers of this country, and is largely composed of men and women who are also united industrially, while over and above all, they have a clear and bold that their interests, hopes and aspirations are identical. Therefore, constituting as we do the department of the grand army of labor that is struggling to obtain control of the governing power in nation, state and municipality for the purpose of abolishing the wage system, and placing the workers shall receive the whole instead of a part of the wealth they produce; and being but recently organized to accomplish this end, it is our natural duty to acquaint our fellow workers who are consciously or unconsciously aiming to achieve this same end, with the principles and methods of the Socialist party and to welcome their support and good will. Your committee is of the opinion that the national secretary and local quorum are entirely in accord with the resolutions adopted by the Unity convention in Indianapolis regarding the attitude of the Socialist party on the trade union question." Report of committee adopted.

Motion adopted that when we adjourn we adjourn to meet at 9 a. m. Motion that George E. Boomer be instructed to go to Utah for space of sixty days if necessary to carry out intention of the committee so far adopted; quorum having been extended time if necessary; same to be at expense of national committee and locals of the state of Utah. Adopted. The committee then adjourned.

### SUNDAY MORNING SESSION.

Meeting called to order at 10 a. m. Turner elected chairman. Roll call and reading of minutes dispensed with. Communication read from Local, Louisville, Ky., endorsing request of Local Troy, N. Y., for referendum on amendment to constitution. Referred to local quorum. Finance committee made report which was considered, read, and after some changes, adopted as follows:

1. That each and every organized state represented by delegates to the Indianapolis convention shall pay dues from that date upon all the members within their borders, to the national committee, except those states which thereafter paid dues to the Chicago N. E. B. committee from and after the time they ceased paying dues to the N. E. B., according to the number of votes represented at Indianapolis.
2. That the national committee charge 10 cents dues to members in unorganized states and territories instead of 5 cents. Adjourned until 1:30 p. m.

Referred to local quorum. Finance committee made report which was considered, read, and after some changes, adopted as follows:

1. That each and every organized state represented by delegates to the Indianapolis convention shall pay dues from that date upon all the members within their borders, to the national committee, except those states which thereafter paid dues to the Chicago N. E. B. committee from and after the time they ceased paying dues to the N. E. B., according to the number of votes represented at Indianapolis.
2. That the national committee charge 10 cents dues to members in unorganized states and territories instead of 5 cents. Adjourned until 1:30 p. m.

### SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

Committee called to order at 1:40 p. m. Roche offered following resolution: "Resolved, that the national committee shall receive no salary more than \$2.00 per day and expenses. Amended by Harriman to read \$3.00, instead of \$2.00. Motion was amended adopted. Harriman offered following resolution: "That the local quorum place in the hands of the national committee, due stamps to the contesting delegation, and to be turned over to the state committee to be elected in Utah, and to be equally divided between both contesting delegates; and further, we recommend that the party members of Utah pay the balance of 50 per cent. of contesting delegates' expenses equally between both. Resolution was adopted.

Ufert offered the following resolution: "That the national committee hereby disapprove the action of the local quorum in placing a boycott upon the world's fair in St. Louis. Further, the national committee hereby disapprove of any action of the local quorum that would tend to make the national or international movement subservient or dependent upon the local quorum." Harriman offered following substitute: "Resolved, that the Socialist party in its struggle against the capitalist system, shall not be deterred by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, the national committee of the Socialist party will cordially co-operate by giving unqualified support." Substitute adopted.

Roche offered following which was adopted: "Resolved, that the local quorum shall not endorse or commit the party to the endorsement of any boycott or strike that is not national or international in its scope and that has not been sanctioned by the national or international executive committee of the organization involved." Adjourned.

### SUNDAY EVENING SESSION.

Committee called to order at 7:30 p. m. Dunn being absent, Patauni was elected temporary secretary. Roll call. Roche brought up the Vallejo battle-ships affair, reading resolutions voted for by the battle-ships in the central trades and labor union, and the resolutions passed by local St. Louis; and in order to obtain sense of national committee on the question offered the following:

"Resolved, that the national committee disapprove of the action of the battle-ships for the Vallejo resolution." Resolution tabled. Harriman moved the following:

"Resolved, that all government work be done under the direct supervision of the government and that no such work of whatever nature be done under the contract labor system." Carried. Turner moved to adjourn. Carried. Upon motion elected chairman. Communication read from Nebraska state committee opposing Socialist receiving office at the hands of the capitalist class. Received and filed. Communication read from G. Veston Writley, providing for the national Socialist league, inviting Socialist party and fraternal delegate to the national Canadim convention to be held in September, 1902. Moved and carried that we send a fraternal delegate to Canada. Quorum was instructed to call for national committee. Communication read from Paul Bethke, secretary German fraternal committee to send German speaker on a general agitation tour. Received and referred to quorum. Harriman offered the following: No member of the Socialist party shall accept an appointment to an office or position of a capitalist party. This shall not include appointive offices to which the Socialist party is legally entitled by reason of its votes. Adopted, and recommended to the party as an amendment to the national constitution. Ufert offered the following resolution: This party shall accept the nomination or endorsement of any other political party, nor allow such nomination or endorsement to stand without public protest." Auditing committee made report as follows: Comrades Boomer, Ufert and Loche, the auditing committee elected by your body to examine the books and accounts of the national secretary, beg to report that a most thorough investigation justifies us in stating that said books and accounts are correct in every particular up to January 1, 1902. A red flag (in the exact shape of a flag) bearing words "Socialist Party." Resolved—Ufert's resolution was adopted.

### JAMES S. ROCHE, Chairman.

Report adopted as read. Moved that national secretary notify all national committeemen to make nominations for official speakers, as soon as possible, the entire list of names of which are to be submitted to vote of the committee as a whole. Carried. Moved that the national committee appoint a capitalist party. This shall not include appointive offices to which the Socialist party is legally entitled by reason of its votes. Adopted, and recommended to the party as an amendment to the national constitution. Ufert offered the following resolution: This party shall accept the nomination or endorsement of any other political party, nor allow such nomination or endorsement to stand without public protest." Auditing committee made report as follows: Comrades Boomer, Ufert and Loche, the auditing committee elected by your body to examine the books and accounts of the national secretary, beg to report that a most thorough investigation justifies us in stating that said books and accounts are correct in every particular up to January 1, 1902. A red flag (in the exact shape of a flag) bearing words "Socialist Party." Resolved—Ufert's resolution was adopted.

### Private Capital Means Slavery.

The modern leaders of men can not enslave the masses by direct force as the Pharaohs did. They cannot enslave them by false ideas of loyalty, of religion, or of national glory, as was done in later centuries. Their willing co-operation had to be secured, and this was done by what political economists characterized as capital. What capital consists of, it is not very easy to define. It includes money and all kinds of resources that can be directly turned into money, and many that cannot. Generally it is a power that enables some men to secure willing co-operation of other men.

An idea of industrial development has expanded the necessity of larger capital has been seen, and it has been secured by combination and consolidation, until the command of property and money, and through these of willing labor, is practically unlimited.—Bankers Magazine.

# COMPETITION VS. CO-OPERATION.

A comparison of competition with co-operation is a comparison of Non-Socialism with Socialism.

For the principle of Non-Socialism is competition, and the principle of Socialism is co-operation.

Non-Socialists tell us that competition is to the general advantage, because it lowers prices in favor of the consumer. But competition in trade only seems desirable when we contrast it with private monopoly.

When we compare the effects of trade competition with the effects of state or municipal co-operation, we find that competition is badly beaten.

Let us try to find the reasons of this. The claim for the superior cheapness of competition rests on the theory that each of two sellers compete against each other or trade "each tries to undersell the other."

This sounds plausible, but, like many other plausible things, it is untrue. It is a theory, but the theory is incomplete.

If business men were fools the theory would work with mathematical precision. It would mean that the consumer, the consumer, but business men are not built on those lines.

The seller of any article does not trade for trading's sake; he trades for profit. It is a mistake to suppose that underselling each other's prices in the only method of competing between rival firms in trade. There are other ways.

A trader, in order to defeat a rival, may:

- (1) Give better quality at the same price, which is equal to giving more for the money, and is therefore a form of underselling; or
- (2) He may give the same quantity and quality at a lower price; or
- (3) He may reduce the lowering of his price by resorting to adulteration, or the use of inferior workmanship or material; or
- (4) He may try to overreach his rival by employing more travelers, or by advertising more extensively.

As to underselling. This is not carried on such a scale as the theorists would have us believe. The object of a trader is to make money. He only desires increased trade if it brings more money.

Brown and Jones make soap for sale. Each desires to get as much of the trade as he can, consistently with profits. It will pay Brown better to sell 1000 boxes of soap at a profit of sixpence on each box than to sell 2000 boxes at a profit of twopence a box, and it will pay him better to sell 4000 boxes at a profit of twopence each than it will to sell 1000 boxes at a profit of sixpence each.

Now, suppose there is a demand for 20,000 boxes of soap a week. If Brown undertakes to divide the trade, each may sell 10,000 boxes at a profit of sixpence, and so may clear a total profit of £250.

If, by repeated underselling, the profit falls to a penny a box, Brown and Jones will have very little more than £80 to divide between them. And it is clear that it will pay them better to divide the trade, for it would pay either of them better to take half the trade at even a threepenny profit than to secure it all at a profit of a penny.

Well, Brown and Jones have the full use of their faculties, and are well aware of the number of boxes that make five. Therefore they will not compete beyond the point at which competition will increase their gross profits.

And so we shall find in most businesses, from great railways down to tooth brushes, that the difference in prices, quality being equal, is not very great amongst native traders, and that a margin of profit is always left.

At the same time, so far as competition does lower prices, without lowering quality, the benefit is to the consumer, and that much is to be put to the credit of competition.

But even there, on its strongest line, competition is beaten by state or municipal co-operation.

Because, assuming that the state or municipality can produce any article as cheaply as a private firm, the state or municipality can always beat the private trader in price to the extent of the trader's profit.

For no trader will continue to trade unless he makes some profit, whereas the state or municipality wants no profit, but works for use or for service.

Therefore, if a private trader sells soap at a profit of one farthing a box, the state or municipality can sell soap one farthing a box cheaper, other things being equal. Other things being equal, it is evident that the trader must be beaten unless he can produce more cheaply than the state or municipality.

Can he produce more cheaply? No. The state or municipality can always produce more cheaply than the private

trader, under equal conditions. Why? For the same reason that a large firm can beat a small one, or a trust can beat a number of large firms.

Suppose there are three separate firms making soap. Each firm must have its separate factory, its separate offices, its separate management, its separate power, its separate profits, and its separate plant.

But if one firm made all the soap, it would save a great deal of expense; for one large factory is cheaper than two of half its size, and one manager costs less than three.

If the London county council made all the soap for London, it could make soap more cheaply than any one of a dozen private firms. Because it would save so largely in rent, plant, and management.

Thus the state or municipality scores over private firms, and co-operation scores over competition in two ways: first, it cuts off the profit; and second, it reduces the cost of production.

But that does not exhaust the advantages of co-operation over competition. There are two other forms of competition, a fourth and a fifth; these are adulteration and advertisement.

We all know the meaning of the phrase "cheap and nasty." We can get pianos, bicycles, houses, boots, tea, and many other things at various prices, and we find that many of the cheap pianos will not hold a tune, that the bicycles are always out of repair, that the houses will fall down, the boots let in water, and the tea tastes like what it is—a mixture of dried tea leaves and rubbish.

Adulteration, as John Bright frankly declared, is a form of competition. It is also a form of rivalry, and it is always out of repair, that the houses will fall down, the boots let in water, and the tea tastes like what it is—a mixture of dried tea leaves and rubbish.

The London County Council would not build jerry houses for the citizens, nor supply them with tea leaves for tea, nor logwood and water for tea, nor would the state or municipality have no competitor to displace it never descends to the baseness of adulteration.

The sale of wooden nutting is a species of enterprise confined exclusively to the private trader. It is a form of competition, but never of commercial co-operation. Socialism would abolish it entirely.

We come now to the third device of the private trader in competition. The employment of commercial travelers and advertisement.

Of two firms selling similar goods, of equal quality, at equal prices, that firm will do the larger trade which keeps the greater number of commercial travelers, and spends the greater sum upon advertisement.

But travelers cost money, and advertising costs money. And so we find that travelers and advertisements add to the cost of distribution.

Therefore competition, although by underselling it may lead to a limited tendency to lower the prices of goods, has also a tendency to increase the price in another way.

If Brown lowers the price of his soap the user of soap is the gainer. But if Brown increases the cost of his advertisement, and his staff of travelers, the user is the loser, because the extra cost has to be paid for in the price of soap.

Now, if the London County Council made soap for all London, there would be no advertisement.

1. A saving in cost of rent, plant, and management.

2. A saving of profits by selling at cost price.

3. A saving of the whole cost of advertising.

4. A saving of the wages of the commercial travelers.

Under a system of trade competition all those four items (plus the effects of adulteration and advertisement) are paid for by the consumer, by the uses of soap.

And what is true of soap is true of most other things.

That is why co-operation for use beats competition for sale and profit.

That is why the municipal gas, water, and tramway services are better and cheaper than the same services under the management of private companies.

That is one reason why Socialism is better than non-Socialism.

In Liverpool (figures of 1897) the price of gas was 2s. 6d. per thousand feet. In Manchester the price of gas was 2s. 3d. per thousand feet. In Manchester the price of gas was 2s. 3d. per thousand feet. In Manchester the price of gas was 2s. 3d. per thousand feet.

In Liverpool the profits went to the company. In Manchester the profits went to the ratepayers.

Thus the Manchester ratepayer was getting his gas for 2s. 3d., less 7d., which means that he was getting it at 1s. 7d., while Liverpool ratepayers, by being charged 2s. 6d. The public monopoly of Manchester was, therefore, heating the private monopoly of Liverpool by 1s. 1d. per thousand feet in the price of gas.

In "Today's Work," by George Haw, and in "Does Man Make a Living?" by H. B. Swain, you will find many examples of striking and conclusive as the one I have suggested above.

The waste incidental to private traders' competition is enormous. Take the one item of advertisement alone. There are draughtsmen, paperhangers, printers, billposters, painters, carpenters, silversmiths, and a perfect army of other people all employed in making advertisement bills, pictures, handbills, and other advertisements—for what? Not to benefit the consumer, but to enable one private dealer to sell his wares than another. In "Merrie England" I dealt with this question, and I quoted from an excellent pamphlet by Mr. Washington, a man of splendid talents, whose death we have unfortunately to deplore. Mr. Washington, who was an inventor and a thoroughly practical man of business, spoke as follows:

"Taking soap as an example, it requires a purchaser of this commodity to expend a shilling in obtaining sixpennyworth of it, the additional sixpence being requisite to cover the cost of advertising, traveling, etc. It requires him to expend 1s. 1d. for the same reason. For a sewing machine he must, if spending £7 on it, part with £4 of this amount on account of unnecessary cost; and so on articles. In the price of less-advertised commodities there is, in like manner, included an unnecessary cost, a long string of middlemen's profits and expenses. It may be necessary to treat of these later, but for the present suffice it to say that the price of goods as sold by retail the margin of unnecessary cost ranges from threepence to sixpence in the shilling, and, taking an average of one thing with another, it may be safely stated that one-half of the price paid is rendered necessary simply through the foolish and inconvenient manner in which the business is carried on."

All this expense could be saved by state or municipal production for use. The New York Milk Trust, I understand, on its formation dispensed with the services of 35,000 men.

You may ask what is to become of these men, and of the immense numbers of other men who are needlessly employed, who would not be needed under Socialism.

Well! What are these men now doing? Are they adding to the wealth of the nation? No. Are they not doing work for nothing? Yes. Are they not now being paid wages? Yes.

Then, since their work is useless, and since they are now being paid, is it not evident that under Socialism we could actually pay them their full wages for doing nothing, and still be as well off as we are now?

But I think under Socialism we could, and should, find a very great many of them congenial and useful work.

But under the "trusts" they will be thrown out of work, and it will be nobody's business to see that they do not starve.

Yes! Socialism would displace labor. But does not Non-Socialism displace labor?

Why was the linotype machine adopted? Because it was a saving of cost. What became of the compositors? They were thrown out of work. Did anybody help them?

Well, Socialism would save cost. If it displaced labor, as the machine does, should that prevent us from adopting Socialism?

Socialism would organize labor, and leave no man to starve.

But will the trusts do that? No. And the trusts are coming. The trusts which will swallow up the small firms and destroy competition. The trusts which will use their monopolies not to lower prices, but to make profits.

You will have your choice, then, between the grasping and grinding trust and the beneficent municipality.

Can any reasonable, practical, hard-headed man hesitate for one moment over his choice?

Teller.

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